/117 cont./

had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Cipaya is then an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

The territory. The physical environment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (Ich. Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tola (Baccharis Leptophylla and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rare tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly reaches a few centimeters in height. These scorched pastures are the product of human industry. The Cipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in the environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provide counterflows by building a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the seeds of the

Reference--145 S-6 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

/130 cont./

Means of Subsistence

Stock raising. The Chipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment /146/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of cuts from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which encourages a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the ordinary type (Fig. 1, p. Ann p. 145/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for men at lambing time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which enlarge enlarges and deforms them give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large terrestrial city.

The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Chipaya build them anew each time that they have a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Chipaya have their "water houses" (Pas-chipaya), or estancias, (Fig. IV, p Ann p. 313/) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history. (97)

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture. (98) 116

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 118, top), 423 secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock. (311)

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a 224 V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are 251 salted, sealed, bound, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river 223 marshes abound in water fowl, ducks, geese, ibises, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the ibis is not eaten, because of [illegible] hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with (311) slings, which are woven and braided of variebored llama and sheep (306) wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden finials for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of diagrams has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in (309) slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-242 dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

9:La Barre E-4,3 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

342. Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or totora-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turds that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[10] says the Uru of Irujoqua built temporary shelters, apparently of reed, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Sinalliaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isla of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 36) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of totora shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the balsa-builders.

[illegible] *Food.* The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> these on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo to some fabled marsh.

[illegible] These half-wild creatures are no "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[11] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call nobo. Like the Aweikoma and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village site, but are sometimes placed in

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[illegible] *Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia* (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteborg, 1930), p. 39; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2 p. 62; Shannon Penn de Ayala, in Murdock, *Dress and Ornament*, p. 198, Fig. 90 (in Métraux loc. cit.).

[illegible] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 108 and Figures 108, 111.

[illegible] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "have the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the Aymara have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymara traders) around the cords (see Pomansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a protractile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *lata* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymara, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uro. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into gowns. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krichberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.*

The Uro know no mythology of any kind, though the Aymara of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their mythical cycles. Some of the "tapus" (Uro *mokala* [cf. the term for penis, *ciri* ("eggs") *chuli*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and many may have been recovered from the ancient *Sullpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ojeda, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a knoll near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uro culture. Plain reddish round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted. These may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymara ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*haquchu*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Pomansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *hola*, and the sinkers for fish nets.

Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, *hola*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *hola*-making hook (*hoyle* or *'hoyi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

* Forbes, op. cit., p. 382, says the down was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Wilkens (1907 ?), pp. 39-47; St. pp. 192; and Pomansky, op. cit., p. 72.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pirí*) and *balsa* (*llamo*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian altiplano.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymara. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *pale* (Aymará *pusiña*, lit. "four holes"), the *qená* (another Aymara flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ui*). The reeds of which these are made are not cane, but come from a reeded bamboo-like plant in the yungas. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiña* or *pale* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in connexion with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large totora-mats (or *Reuses*, for carpets in "chulo" huts). These are exchanged for *habas*, corn, sun-dried, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of totora and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*Reuses* and *Samará*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The [illegible] activity of the sexes in grass rope twisting or braiding (Fernandez, quite unconcernedly, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible]